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THE NATIVE TRIBES OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

[Title Page]

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THE NAMA.

BY

DR. H. VEDDER.

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THE NAMA.

1. Physical and Mental Characteristics.

101 1. The Nama nation lives in South West Africa. Its principal seats are in the territory between the Orange and the Swakop rivers. Ethnographically it forms a portion of the Hottentots, once a nomad people consisting of many tribes which wandered over the broad plains of Southern Africa before the arrival and expansion of the Europeans.

141 2. The Nama are mostly of medium height. Some of them attain a height of 1.70 m., which is the reason for the observation made in old reports that the Nama are a tall race compared with the Hottentots of the Cape. Their general height, however, varies from 1·50-1·65 m. Members of both sexes are frequently met with, however, who are less than 1·50 m. in height.

142 3. The colour of their skin is remarkably light. A light-skinned people among the dark races of Africa is in itself an enigma and leads one to the assumption that the Nama migrated with other Hottentot tribes from Northern Africa in prehistoric times. This view gains in probability in the light of linguistic research and is supported by old legends.

The colour of the skin, which on the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet, is hardly different from that of European races, may be described as pale yellow, tinged, particularly in the case of the old tribe of the Red Nation, with a red undertone. Over the spine there is a darker patch. The membranes of the lips are a pale dull red.

141 142 4. The skull is of peculiar shape. The narrow forehead, which is usually slightly arched, has no bumps. The back of the head is more or less arched and never flat. The cheek-bones are prominent. The receding chin is pointed. The prominent cheekbones and pointed chin give the face an almost triangular appearance, especially in the case of elderly people, whose rounded cheeks have been superseded by numerous wrinkles. The root of the nose hardly protrudes, the bridge has the appearance of having been pressed back and ends in a flat, broad snub nose, the openings of which are clearly visible.

142 5. The prominent cheekbones and the flattened bridge of the nose cause the eye-lids to seem slanted. The glaring sun of the country and the frequent lack of vegetation force the ocular muscles to contract, causing the eyes to blink and this accentuates the impression of slant-eyes. The iris is always

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dark brown and shows no distinct patches caused by veins as is the case with the brown eyes of the European. The white of the eye frequently has a tone verging into dirty yellow.

6. The prognathism of the jaws which is conspicuous in almost all of them, is frequently accentuated by thick, protruding lips. Thick lips are, however, not the rule with all of them. The teeth are often of exceeding whiteness and regularity, but in the case of elderly people they are frequently prematurely decayed or lost.

7. The ears are mostly small, the lobe of the ear either wholly or partly joined. I have never observed a Darwinian tip. Most remarkable, however, is the variety of ear-shells, for I have observed ear-shells which were almost devoid of cartilage while the cartilage of others was so strong that it was very difficult to bend the ear.

8. The hair of the head is black, short and woolly. When not combed the hair has the appearance of being gathered into small tufts. It was on account of this that the Hottentots were given the name of "peperkop," since the woolly, fine and frizzy hair reminds one of pepper-corns. The hair rarely turns grey before the 60th or 70th year, and it is the rarest thing to meet an old Nama with wholly white hair. The armpits and other portions of the body are very sparsely covered.

9. With the exception in the limbs, there is a peculiar propensity to adipose tissue. In young people of both sexes there is a regular distribution of fat, which gives the skin a certain pleasing and taut appearance; but the appearance of elderly men, and particularly women who have had one or more children, is completely changed. The skin of the stomach becomes flabby and the skin gives the impression of being loosely hung over the muscular system, as if it has not been able to contract upon the disappearance of the fat. The stomach skin, later the chest, is then covered with innumerable wrinkles, until at last the face too reveals numberless wrinkles.

During this period of redistribution of fat, steatopyga sets in with many women, which is apparently a hypertrophy of the fat over the coccygeal muscles. Not all women have this accretion of fat, which to the Nama is the ideal of beauty: but it is estimated that about 10 per cent. of the Nama women attain to this ideal. Some men of advanced age, strange to say, also reveal distinct steatopyga.

10. The hands and feet of men and women are of exceeding daintiness, and this daintiness is surpassed only by the Bushmen. Europeans certainly do not rival them. A number of these physical peculiarities indicate that the Nama are in all probability not a pure race, and that in past centuries there has been a considerable admixture of Bushmen blood.

11. To the description of the somatic peculiarities of the Nama may be added a description of the psychic characteristics. The Nama is above all an emotional being. It is not difficult to rouse him to transports of joy and he who is able to rouse his joyous instincts has won his heart. In this state the Nama is willing, kind and hospitable; he will share his last crumb with his visitor and reveals clearly that he is indeed capable of noble sentiments. In this state, too, he is susceptible to religious impressions and the indiscrimination with which he surrenders to his emotions makes him an easy victim and a ready follower of visionaries. It need scarcely be added that dreams, visions, supernatural voices, etc., are fruitful seed in minds of such psychological structure. 152

12. On the other hand, when under the influence of disagreeable passions the Nama presents an altogether different and almost unrecognisable aspect. He is then sulky, unapproachable, impudent, faithless, unmerciful and cruel.

13. Both in his good and bad moods he is impelled by the desire to play the great man, to earn as much as possible with the least exertion. Yet he consumes his earnings in the most uneconomical manner and loves to preen himself in the grandest of attire. 156

14. Contrary to the descriptions of the older historians, the Nama is nowise slow of thought. He knows how to use his senses and he is able to translate for his use with great rapidity of thought, whatever his eye, ear and sense of smell have communicated to him. As far as rapidity of thought and imagination are concerned, the Nama takes the first place in South West, leaving the Hereros, Bêrg Damaras and Ovambos, even the so-called Bastards, far behind. He is musical, but the beauties of nature make no impression whatever on him. He is a great teller of tales and listens to tales with great attention, but for the past history of his people he has little interest, preferring a foreign language to his mother-tongue. 153 517

15. Will power, which gives character its type and reliability is but slightly developed in any of them. Principles count for little and a Nama will never fall back on a principle to explain his actions. It may be taken as an axiom that when the Nama acts under the influence of his agreeable instincts, the good qualities of his nature become evident in a surprisingly beautiful manner; but when he acts on his disagreeable impulses he can no longer be trusted and is capable of quite unsuspectedly evil actions. 152

H. Sching, with whose judgment of the Nama I agree, writes of them: "They have their virtues and vices like every other people, but in order to judge them, we must descend from the pedestal of civilization, often so artificial, and place ourselves in their past, their environment and 181

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181 their mode of thought. Only then may we hope to obtain a clear impression of their psychic condition. Anyone who for any length of time has travelled in the company of Hottentots and has suffered starvation and thirst with them, has shared their joys and sorrows, will doubtless discern under that rough exterior a good heart, will learn to appreciate them and inevitably admit that their good points outweigh their bad."

II. Divisions and Distribution.

101 1. The origin of the tribal name "Hottentot" has not yet been cleared up. The old reports spell the name in different ways: Ottentoo, Hottnot, Hodmodod, Hottentott. It is assumed that the meaning attached to the word by the old settlers was "a stammerer" and that the name had reference to the peculiar clicks of the language, which give its speech a distinctive character. At any rate the name is not of Hottentot origin, nor had the Hottentots a distinct name to include all their tribes. Old reports state that they also called themselves "Quaiqua" or "Khoi-khoin"; but these names differ merely in spelling, not in meaning. He who knows the language sees at once that the word Quaiqua is an effort to fix the word Khoigua in writing. But Khoigua merely means men, while Khoin is the word for "people," and Khoi-khoin means people of pure race, *i.e.*, excellent people.

174 2. In all probability the Hottentot tribes migrated from the region of the Central African lakes in prehistoric times and moving westwards, crossed the Kunene, and then entered present-day South West Africa, passing between the Kaokoveld and Ovamboland. It is impossible now to say with any degree of certainty what the cause of the migration may have been, but it may be assumed that the numerous Bantu tribes pressed them southwards. In the case of a nomadic people, other causes, however, are also possible. At the time of the Hottentot immigration, South West Africa must have been well-nigh uninhabited, for the Herero had not yet occupied the land. In all probability the Bergdama laboured as herdsmen or servants for the nomadic Hottentots, whose language they had adopted, and first came to South West with their masters.

The traces and paintings of the Bushmen on rocks betray that in all probability they were the first inhabitants of the vast territory, which was to become the grazing and hunting ground of the most varied African tribes.

3. While the great majority of the Hottentots moved South with their herds, until they reached the utmost point, the very //Hui-ǂkeib, *i.e.*, place of the snakes, where Cape Town now lies, some tribes settled in South West and led a nomadic life between the Orange and Swakop Rivers.

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Thus the migrations of the Hottentots reveal the same characteristics which we find later in the migrating Herero. The Herero also moved southwards, after having crossed the Kunene. 174

The main force pushed down as far as the Swakop and wandered about in the pastures north of the Swakop, the southern part having already been occupied by the Hottentots. But the poorer Herero did not move down so far, but remained in the Kaokoveld up to this very day.

4. The names of these Hottentot tribes which migrated into the Cape Colony have partly been preserved in old documents, but unfortunately the spelling of the names of these tribes is so inaccurate that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct spelling of the names according to the Hottentot pronunciation, is no longer possible. Almost all names were written, not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person, masc., plur., which is ga in the accusative but gua in antique pronunciation, changed by old writers to qua which merely means "belonging to the masculine sex" — an indication of the small importance of the women in these nomadic tribes. 175 619

5. The following are the names of the different tribes (in the old spelling), that migrated into the region south of the Orange River:—

(i) Hesequa in the present district of Caledon;

(ii) Gochoqua in the vicinity of Saldanha Bay;

(iii) Namaqua, north of the Hesequa.

(iv) Gorinhaiqua known as the "Kaplidens."

(v) Gorona, also written Goraqua, Gorachonqua, whose real name is !Khora, out of which Koranna has been made through the omission of the click and the addition of the suffix for the 3rd pers., plur., com. acc. They led a roving life in the country between the Orange and Vaal. In 1813 the Rev. Mr. Campbell found them in the neighbourhood of Kuruman and Lithako. Later on they settled in Bethanie under influence of the Berlin Mission. In 1850 the tribe still consisted of approximately 20,000 souls under 17 chiefs. In 1870 the tribe had practically died out.

(vi) Damaqua who roamed about the Great Fish River.

(vii) Gonaqua, nomads on the Gamtoos River, probably as important as Gonnema, discussed elsewhere.

(viii) Chainouqua, often called "Kapmans."

(ix) Attaqua.

(x) Outeniqua, between the Gamtoos and Breede Rivers. Lichtenstein refers to them as the Uteniga, doing more justice to the phonetic sounds in the name of the tribe.

(xi) Hancoumqua in the Eastern Cape Province.

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(xii) Charigurigua in the neighbourhood of St. Helena Bay. Obviously it is the same tribe elsewhere called the Gouriqua, from which the word Grigriqua is formed. The real name of the tribe was ǂKari-huriqua = *i.e.*, the small (=ǂKari-) tribe which lives at the sea (-hurib = sea). This tribe was afterwards known under the name Griqua. In 1713 Peter Kolbe found them near St. Helena Bay. During the first half of the 18th century they wandered about in the neighbourhood of the present Clanwilliam. By then they had European blood in them. Later they mixed with nomadic Bastards. Consequently they called themselves Bastards with pride till Campbell induced them in 1813 to re-adopt their old, unfortunately mutilated and almost forgotten, name of Griqua.

Under their chief, Adam Kok, they founded Griquatown in 1813.

6. Van Riebeek, the first Dutch Commander at the Cape, says of these Hottentots, that, generally speaking, they had as much intelligence as the common Hollander but were more cautious and more cunning than the latter and well knew how to take advantage of every opportunity.

The East India Company exercised great care in the maintenance of peaceful relations with the Hottentots.

Later developments and the inland migration of the Europeans caused the Hottentot tribes to retreat partly to the North, across the Orange River, to settle in the territories of their countrymen who had stayed behind, and to be partly absorbed by the mongrel races which had come into being in the meantime in the Cape Colony.

At present pure Hottentot tribes are found only in South-West Africa.

7. Eight tribes which did not cross the Orange River with their emigrating countrymen, but had wandered about between the Orange and Swakop Rivers, each separate tribe having taken possession of a large territory, settled in South-West Africa during the time of the old Hottentot emigrations. Six of these tribes entered into an alliance and formed a loosely-knitted entity under the leadership of the //Khauben. These, living in the centre of the territory, seem to have had a number of able leaders and chiefs.

The //Khauben, also called Gei-//Khaun, are now well-known under the name "Rode Natie." The allied tribes were called, and to this day call themselves, /Áwa-khoin = Red people.

The names of the allied tribes are:

(i) //Khauben, also Gei-//Khaun or Rode Natie, with capital Hatsamas. The survivors of these tribes are now resident at Hoachanas. Among the twelve chiefs, whose names are still doubtful, Chief //Oaseb

was very prominent. As he was still under age at the time his father died, his sister, Games, took over the reign till he became of age. Thus in the years 1830-1840 this remarkable event came to pass that a woman ruled over six Hottentot tribes. 175 619

(ii) !Kara-gai-khoin also called "Franschmannsche Hottentots," known later as the Simon-Koper-Leute. They dwelt on the Oub River.

(iii) !Kara-!ôan, whose pastures were on the Chamob River.

(iv) //Hawoben whose tribal name should be translated into "Veldschoendragers" under which name they are referred to frequently in literature. They were domiciled North of (iii).

(v) //Khan-/gôan, *i.e.*, children of the tribe of the //Khauben, also called the "Zwartboois." They were stationed temporarily in Rehoboth till 1870, whence they removed to Ameib in the country of the Herero and are at present settled at Franzfontein in the southern part of the Kaokoveld.

(vi) //O-gein, *i.e.*, Groot-doden. Their former pastures were those on the upper course of the Fish River. Half a century ago this tribe ceased to exist as a result of the wars against the Herero and the tribal quarrels.

These tribes, under the leadership of the //Khauben or the *Rode Natie*, claimed possession, on the grounds of tradition, of the whole territory bordering on Lake Ngami in the East, the Chamob River in the South, the Atlantic Ocean in the West and the Omaruru River and Amboland in the North.

(vii) Besides these six allied tribes the ǂOunin, also called !Gomen or !Naranin, known as the "Topnaars" from the translation of ǂOunin, were settled in the territory of Walvis Bay. Probably these constitute the remnants of earlier coast-tribes. Hundreds of years ago their territory was still of vast dimensions. When Missionary Schmelen visited Okahandja and Walvis Bay in 1825, he found that the herds of the "Topnaars" were grazing as far as Okahandja. By the Herero in the North and West as well as by the Nama in the South this tribe was later confined to the small and barren territory of Walvis Bay.

(viii) The last of the free tribes are the !Gami-ǂnun or Bondelswarts who have retained their pastures in the South of Namaland, on the Orange River, and their old capital at Warmbad up to this day.

8. As the colonisation of the Cape Colony by Europeans progressed, the Hottentot tribes, wandering about there, lost their desired freedom of action. Those who had absorbed

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175 619 European blood or who had been servants on farms, etc., and had come in contact with western civilisation and who could partly make themselves understood in the Dutch language, gradually migrated to the North, for they knew that beyond the Orange River their countrymen were still enjoying unlimited freedom.

So we see Hottentot settlements arise on the southern bank of the Orange River and missionaries hard at work trying to evangelise those who had emigrated. At Pella and other places flourishing Hottentot communities came into existence. But as the boundaries of the Cape Colony were extended to include them and besides Small Namaland was suffering from severe drought, in one year five rather large tribes crossed the Orange River in order to obtain land and pasturage in Great Namaland.

These emigrations from the Cape Colony were not of entire tribes, for amongst the names of the immigrating tribes we find none of the twelve tribes which we have already met in the Cape Colony. These migrations took place in this way: Any influential and strong personality would set out with some followers. On the way others, who were not satisfied with existing circumstances or who could no more reside in the Cape Colony as cattle thieves, because things got too hot for them or the boundaries too narrow, joined this leader.

As has already been said, most of them settled in Little Namaland which they were passing through on their way to cross the Orange River to look for a new fatherland in South-West, where they were called the "Orlams."

9. The derivation and the meaning of the word "Orlam" has not yet been determined. Professor Mansvelt traces this word back to the Malay language and says that during the régime of the East India Company the conventional Indian word for old and trustworthy servants was "Orang lami" = old people, and that this name has been assigned to Hottentot servants who were in settled employment.

The fact is that to-day the name Orlam is still used in a figurative sense for a handy and clever Nama in South-West Africa.

The Orlam tribe, containing many hybrids of Dutch descent, who had adopted something of European civilization, possessing horses and supplied even with firearms, made on the Nama who had never been in contact with civilization, the impression that they were highly developed people.

That the meaning "Oorlandse mense" is also attached to the word Orlam by the Nama would lead one to believe that the word means foreigners, people coming from across the Orange River, *i.e.*, people who are "further off."

10. The five Orlam tribes have the following names:—

(i) /Khowesin; who emigrated from the Cape Colony, under their leader Kido Witbooi, and stayed at the

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missionary station at Pella on the southern bank of the Orange River for quite a long time. By 1810 they had already crossed the Orange River and were roving about in the territory of the Fish River without fixed stations. They were called Witboois after their leader. Some Christians among them insisted upon the founding of a fixed abode. Such a place was ultimately established at Kocha-tsus, in the present Gibeon. In the year 1862 they settled there and in 1863 a station of the Rhenish Mission was founded among them. As the Witboois observed strict neutrality as far as the tribal quarrels amongst the Nama were concerned, they had to suffer much from raids of the *Rode Natie*. Could anyone then foresee that within a few decades the rule over the Nama tribe would be transferred from the Red Nation into the hands of the Witboois?

(ii) Gei-/Khauan or Amraal Hottentots, who settled at Nausannabis and in the eastern part of the Herero country, later in Gobabis.

(iii) ǂKari-/Khauan, or Berseba Hottentots, now resident at the foot of the Broekkaross.

(iv) !Aman, or Hottentots of Bethanie.

These three tribes, the Gei-/Khauan, ǂKari-/Khauan and !Aman seem to have left the Cape Colony at the same time. For a time most of them settled in Little Namaland at the missionary stations Pella, Steinkopf and Komaagas. During that time grazing conditions were very bad there.

Schmelen, the German missionary of the London Missionary Society, urged them to migrate further into South-West. By order of his Society he left Little Namaland in 1814 and following the course of the //Gôa-/geb, now called the Konkip River, he, with a great number of the Orlams, settled at /Ui-ǂganis in Great Namaland, which place he called Bethanie. Later on Amraal Lamberts and his people the Gei-/Khauan migrated to Nausannabis and Gobabis.

The !Aman remained in Bethanie and the +Kari-/khauan, under missionary influence, settled at the foot of the Broekkaross in Berseba.

(v) The last Orlams who crossed the Orange River had the tribal name of the //Aicha-//ain = angry tribe. Their tribal history is very typical and may be sketched here.

In the Tulbagh district the so-called !Hantam there lived a little chief, !Garuchamab by name, during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Between the years 1790-95 he left Tulbagh to settle permanently in the !Hantam near the present Calvinia. He had two sons, /Hôa-/arab and Titus.

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After the death of his father, /Hôa-/arab, with his brother as well as his followers went to stay with a farmer called Pienaar. This man gave him another name which could be pronounced more easily and called him Afrikaner. Pienaar treated his people badly, and it came to a rupture. Titus shot his master and Afrikaner's relations murdered Pienaar's wife and children and, fleeing, they drove all the cattle in the direction of the Orange River, not to be within reach of the Police and to be safeguarded against prosecution. These people possessed many rifles, for Pienaar, as farm Police, used to take his people with him on his notorious raids in order to clear the neighbourhood of Hottentot and Bushmen thieves.

These firearms gave this tribe a great superiority over their neighbours at the Orange River. They invaded Afrikanerkraal on the southern bank of the Orange River. Even Warmbad was assaulted by the Afrikaners and the missionary station burnt down.

The Cape Government set a price of £150 on Jager's head. While stationed at Afrikanerkraal Jager came in contact with some missionaries. Moffat, Livingstone's father-in-law, was working there from September, 1817, up to October, 1818, after the missionary Ebner had christened Jager and a number of his people on the 23rd July, 1815. In the year 1819 Jager, who was henceforth called Christian, made a journey to Cape Town in company of his missionary, where he was received by the Governor himself, pardoned and presented with a gift. Jager, alias Christian, died in the year 1823. He had conferred the Chieftainship on his energetic son Jonker, although it was not due to him. Jonker secured the greatest part of the retinue and moved northward, led a nomadic life and ultimately settled in Windhoek, where he subjugated the Herero and brought the Nama under his sway and died in Okahandja in 1861. His grave is covered with a heap of almost unrecognisable stones, just as the tribe of this "Napoleon of the South" has vanished without glory or even leaving a trace.

III. Wars and Decline.

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1. Shortly after the invasion of the Orlam in about the year 1830, strenuous fighting was going on between the Nama and the Herero.

The Herero exhibited a tendency to rove further and further south and their cattle were already grazing as far as the territory of Rehoboth. The Nama, whose pastures had

already been limited by the immigration of the Orlam, showed a tendency to move from the south to the north and north-east and thus had to meet the Herero in the north and the Mbanderu in the north-east. Many battles were fought in which they fought for two things, extermination of the enemy and for the possession of his cattle. As a rule the Nama were less fortunate than the Herero in these pillaging expeditions. 175 721

2. In these distressing circumstances the female Chief of the Red Nation turned to Jonker Afrikaner, whose troops, although not many, were superior to the Herero by reason of the possession of fire-arms, while the latter still used to fight with arrow, bow, club and spear after the old fashion. Jonker in conjunction with the Red Nation and allied tribes drove the Herero back, wandered to and fro in Namaland for quite a long time and settled eventually in Windhoek about the year 1835. A man with very high aspirations and unbridled desires for power, he aimed at becoming sovereign chief of the Nama tribe and at the same time forcing the Herero under his sway.

For this purpose he chose his capital seat strategically, right between these two tribes in the centre of the country. At Christmas, 1842, a temporary peace was made between him and the Herero, but did not last long. Jonker was visited by traders who sold large quantities of brandy to him, furnished him with guns, gunpowder and lead, and advised him to settle his heavy accounts with cattle from the Herero herds. [728]

3. As early as 1846 Jonker broke the peace and made a renewed attack on the Herero, whose most powerful chief, Tjamuaha, lived in Okahandja. After a terrible massacre on August 23rd, 1850, at Okahandja, in which many Herero men were slain, and many women crippled to obtain the copper rings they wore round their legs, by chopping off their feet, the opposition of the Herero was so broken that Tjamuaha placed himself under Jonker's protection to save himself and his cattle, and the chief of the Herero became Jonker's first servant. The latter furnished him with guns and ordered him to rob his own subjects so as to enable Jonker to meet his trading debts.

At that time many Herero fled to the north with their herds, while others returned to the Kaokoveld so as to be safe from their own chief Tjamuaha, but Jonker, in order to make the suppression of the Herero complete, went to Okahandja.

4. When death overtook him there on August 18th, 1861, he had attained through numerous raids and battles, what he aimed at; instead of the former predominance of the Red Nation, the Afrikaners were the leaders of the Nama tribe in war and in peace and the Herero had to pay tribute to the Nama. However, this supreme sovereignty did not last long. Tjamuaha, "Jonker's dog," also died. His successor was the determined Maharero, while Jonker was succeeded by the weakling, Christian Afrikaner.

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175 Maharero left Okahandja all of a sudden and went to
721 Otjimbingue, where he gathered all available Hereros round him. Christian feeling himself too weak unaided to seize him there, especially as Maharero had furnished his people with firearms, called the Nama tribes to his assistance. On June 15th, 1863, in a decisive battle at Otjimbingue the Nama were totally defeated and Christian, as well as the Chief of Bethanie, lost their lives.

Christian's successor was Jonker's nephew, Jan Jonker
[728] Afrikaner. He also suffered many defeats from Maharero, till ultimately in 1870 the Peace of Okahandja was made, whereby Jan Jonker took possession of Windhoek in fee to the Herero and pledged himself to observe peace.

5. There followed ten years of peace. It is worth noting that during this time Mr. Palgrave concluded treaties of protection with the Nama and Herero chiefs by order of the Cape Government, in order to restore peace to the disorganised country by bringing it under the supreme power of the Cape Government. Protective treaties were unknown to the Herero and Nama and so much was promised on both sides that they were signed without much opposition by well-nigh all the chiefs, but new riots brought these treaties to a sudden end. While Palgrave was in Gobabis discussing the matter with the Nama chiefs there, some Herero herdsmen were slain by the Nama. Immediately after receiving this news Maharero had all Nama, residing in Okahandja, killed. This happened on August 23rd, 1880, exactly thirty years after the massacre by Jonker in Okahandja. He also gave orders for all Namas in Hereroland to be killed. A cry of indignation went up through all Namaland. Mr. Palgrave, who was afraid that his treaties with the Nama chiefs in Gobabis might induce chief Maharero to turn against him personally, went back to Walfisch Bay as fast as possible and left the country, and as the Cape Parliament did not seem very anxious to bring restless South West Africa under its rule, nothing resulted from his mission.

6. The indignant Nama of almost all the tribes gathered round Jan Jonker Afrikaner. But the Herero also mobilised and stormed Windhoek, the capital of the Afrikaners, and razed the mission station there to the ground. On the 11th and 12th of December in a fierce battle at Otjikongo near Okahandja, the Nama were completely beaten. Jan Jonker just managed to save himself with a few Afrikaners, but his power was broken and the supreme power of the Afrikaners over the Nama passed into the hands of the Orlam tribe residing in Gibeon. Jan hid himself in the Gaus Mountains and wrought much damage to the Herero by incessant pillaging expeditions.

7. Moses Witbooi, the chief of the Orlam at Gibeon then became spokesman and supreme ruler of the Nama. Imbued with a spirit of ineradicable hatred against the Herero he

instigated another campaign against them, which on September 22nd came to a battle. On both sides more soldiers had been raised than ever before. Again were the Nama defeated, and had to deliver up all wagons, ammunition and horses to the Herero. The missionary Hahn tried to establish peace on behalf of the Cape Government, but not one of the Nama chiefs was willing to participate in the peace negotiations, and a separate treaty only was entered into by the Herero and Rehoboth Bastards, who had taken over this territory from the Swartboois ten years previously, and had had to suffer very much as a buffer state between the quarrelsome Nama and Herero. 175 721

8. Then Moses Witbooi decided to punish the disloyal Bastards who were thus compelled to cast themselves on the mercy of the Herero. The latter consequently again entered Namaland with their herds and the Nama were once more driven to defend themselves. In addition to this Moses Witbooi undertook marauding expeditions against the Bastards, never dreaming that for this he would have an opponent, in his own son, the clever and energetic teacher at Gibeon, Hendrik Witbooi, who wanted his father to restore the stolen cattle to the Bastards.

For this reason father and son fell out and Hendrik migrated to the south in order to furnish himself with ammunition and arms. In June, 1884, he was so well armed that he decided to undertake a campaign against the Herero with his own train of followers, which had been strengthened by an influx of Jan Jonker's people. If his father had done his utmost to secure the supreme reign over the Nama tribes after the Afrikaner tribe had become practically powerless, then Hendrik strove still more vigorously after it. It was not due so much to the hatred against the Herero that the teacher became an army leader, but to the conviction that he as conqueror of the Herero, which he believed himself to be destined for by God, could convincingly prove his qualification as supreme ruler of the Nama. Maharero, who had knowledge of everything that was going on and was determined not to be taken unawares by the Nama in Okahandja again, had already pitched a camp beyond the boundaries of Hereroland and awaited Hendrik. A fight lasting three days ensued in which, however, neither side fought very enthusiastically; and as soon as the cry for peace was raised by the ranks of the Herero, Hendrik was not unwilling to arouse that spirit on his side too, and to enter into a treaty of peace with the Herero. Points of issue were soon settled and Hendrik entered Gibeon as the great conqueror. [728]

9. Evidently both sides were not very serious as regards this peace. Hendrik armed himself again and tried to increase his troops, and on October 14th, 1885, felt himself so strong that he tried to raid Okahandja, but did not succeed.

175 At Osona, one hour south of Okahandja, a strenuous battle
721 was fought in which the Nama were utterly defeated, 130 horses, all the draught oxen, wagons and ammunition falling into the hands of the Herero and Hendrik just managed to escape with his life. Then Hendrik determined to take a sanguinary revenge. In 1886 he tried to take Okahandja by surprise, but he was driven back and as quite an exceptional case was pursued on the instigation of the Christian Herero and chased till in the vicinity of Rehoboth. His power was destroyed. Henceforth he indulged in mere marauding expeditions against the Herero. When in 1887 Chief Moses Witbooi was murdered, Hendrik took over the captaincy of the tribe. After the murderer of his father had been slain, Hendrik, annoyed at the fact that Jan Jonker was still supreme ruler of the Nama, turned against him and also because he had received news of treaties by Jan Jonker with Hendrik's opponents. Going in quest of Jan in his retreat on the Swakop, Hendrik killed him, ravaged his camp and returned to Gibeon. Thus came to its end the Afrikaner tribe which had once been so powerful!

The Red Nation also, disorganised for fear of Hendrik, after the death of their chief led a marauding life, and thus Hendrik arrived at a very favourable position towards becoming chief ruler of Namaland.

10. Hendrik had a permanent abode at Hoornkranz, north of Rehoboth. Convinced after a good many battles that he could not subdue the Herero in open warfare, he tried to weaken them by raids and marauding expeditions for which enterprises Hoornkranz was very favourably situated. There not only was he near the Herero herds, but could bring the booty easily into safety, and in the inaccessible ravines there was no need to fear the persecution of the Herero. From there he also attacked the southern Nama tribes, which failed to recognise him as their Chief, and he sent out a proclamation to all Nama chiefs in which he proclaimed himself Chief of all Namaland.

11. In this restless decade it happened that on August 6th, 1884, the German flag was hoisted at Luderitzbucht, that the Nama and the Herero chiefs entered into treaties of protection with the German Government, and that Windhuk was decided upon as the capital of South West Africa in order to serve as a wedge between the quarrelling tribes, and a small colonial force endeavoured to restore peace and order. On being summoned to enter a defensive alliance Hendrik opposed this stubbornly. He threatened to chastise the chiefs who had signed the document and thus remained, as he had been and still was, a danger to both the north and the south. On October 7th, 1870 Maharero died and his son Samuel became chief in his stead.

With anxiety Hendrik found that Samuel was entering into closer relationship with the Germans instead of with-

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drawing from them and he thought it wiser to make peace with the Herero so as not to have to take up arms against two enemies perhaps later on. 175 721

Captain von Francois, Commissioner of the German Government, now prohibited the import of fire-arms and ammunition and made preliminary arrangements for the subjugation of Hendrik.

After the German Colonial force had been strengthened in 1893 he ventured to attack Hendrik in his mountain fortress, but it was his successor, Major Th. Leutwein, who eventually succeeded in his ultimate subjection towards the middle of September, 1894.

Hendrik then made a treaty with the representatives of the German Government whereby Gibeon was granted him as residence; he became recognised chief of the tribe and was compelled to join the army with his people on being summoned by the German Government. Up to 1904 Hendrik abided by this treaty and South West enjoyed a time of peace, except for a few minor disturbances and local rebellions. [728]

12. In October, 1903, the Bondelswarts, resident in Warmbad on the northern bank of the Orange River, attempted to free themselves from the suzerainty of the German Government. They were led by Morenga, whose father was an Herero and his mother a Nama. His assistant leader was Morris, the son of a European and a woman from the Bondelswart tribe. At the commencement Hendrik Witbooi, with 80 recruits, assisted in the suppression of the rebellion. The Governor, Leutwein, in order to suppress the riots in the south as soon as possible, had gathered all available troops from the north. The Herero took their opportunity and in the beginning of January, 1904, Samuel Maharero gave the order for all farmers in the Herero country to be murdered. The whole of the Herero tribe rose in rebellion. On January the 27th, 1904, Leutwein concluded the Peace of Kalkfontein with the Bondelswarts whereby the Warmbad reserve was granted to them and they were compelled to deliver up 300 guns. [728]

By forced marches the troops went to the north. When, on August the 11th and 12th, at the battle at Waterberg, led by General Trotha, Leutwein's successor, the Herero were annihilated, Hendrik Witbooi's troops were still on the side of the Germans.

13. Morenga at Warmbad did not abide by the terms of the peace of Kalkfontein, for during the first months of the Herero War he had disturbed the eastern boundaries of Namaland with his bands. When the rest of the Nama chiefs saw that he was successful, they also joined in the rebellion with the exception of the tribes at Berseba and Bethanie. Even Hendrik Witbooi lent his ear to a missionary of the Ethiopian Society from Port Elizabeth and participated in the hostilities.

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175 721 The farmers were murdered and the farms robbed and plundered; but it was not until November, 1904, that the German troops could take the offensive. Though Hendrik's people suffered a heavy defeat at Kub on the 22nd of November, 1904, and sustained great losses in the battle at Naris on the 4th of December, yet their power was not yet broken. A guerilla war then went on until Hendrik ultimately fell on the farm Witbooisende, near Vaalgras, and dying, ordered his people to give up the struggle as he wished "his children to have peace."

14. However, the opposition of the remaining tribes was not yet done away with. Part of the Nama tribe of Bethanie hid themselves in the Tiras Mountains and wrought much havoc amongst the German troops, until Christian Goliath, the chief of Berseba, induced them to surrender. Morenga and Morris, as well as the Bondelswarts, continued the guerilla war, assisted by the rough nature of the country. Morenga's band, driven into a narrow corner, escaped the German forces by entering English territory, that is to say by crossing the Orange River and hiding themselves on its southern bank.

At last the Cape Government ordered Morenga to be arrested, which was done by Colonel Elliot on September 20th, 1907, not, however, before Morenga received a fatal wound in the skirmish that ensued.

The Nama under the leadership of Simon Koper, who had escaped into the Kalahari, were still up in arms. After tremendous pains and a good deal of strategy they were also subdued by Captain Friedrich von Erskert, on whom the duty of their punishment had been imposed and who succumbed to a hostile bullet.

175 178 15. With this battle the war in Namaland terminated, and the rivalry between the chiefs came to an end, for the Nama realised that although they had it in their power to destroy one another, they could not withstand a European force; and they then resorted to peaceful cattle farming in the reserves around Warmbad and Berseba. The men set out to earn bread for themselves and their families on farms, the diamond fields at Luderitzbucht, and went into service in the quickly developing townships.

[728] [797] By the peace of Korab on July 7th, 1915, Namaland came under the Administration of the Union Government. The Evangelic and Catholic Mission has done splendid work in christianising and educating the different tribes. More than a thousand Nama children attend the missionary schools, which are fortunately supported and controlled by the Government. The Bondelswarts tribe, however, again manifested a tendency to revolt, but with no far-reaching effects, as their prompt suppression safeguarded the rest of Namaland from new distress.

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According to statistical returns the Nama tribe numbers 21,000 souls. Half a century ago their number was estimated at 10,000. It is thought that the Nama do not belong to the tribes which are becoming extinct, for their disposition enables them to change their mode of life from a nomadic one to an industrial and settled one with more ease than is the case with the Herero.

IV. Mode of Living and Culture.

1. The oldest form of Nama hut is the dome. In order to construct such a dome-shaped hut they bend moderately thick wooden poles and erect these in a circle 3-4 metres in diameter, driving them into the ground surprisingly quickly by means of a stick made for that purpose. When every hole is furnished with a pole, these are bent inwards evenly and fastened together by means of leather straps; then poles of the same thickness are tied horizontally round this trestle. Rush matting is now placed over the trestle and fastened to it. As according to the arrangement of the huts their villages exhibit a circular formation, an opening in the hut —towards the inside of the village—is left uncovered so as to serve as an entrance. This opening may be closed by means of a piece of rush-matting which just fits into it and is fastened to a cross-pole suspended about three feet high, which can be rolled up and fastened or let down. In a minimum of time such a hut can be pulled down, packed on an ox and erected at the new site in a day. It has this advantage too that it is very airy and yet protective against the inclemency of the weather, as the rush swells with the first drops and practically entirely shuts out the rain. The rush hut is just the ideal residence for a nomadic tribe with no fixed abode.

These huts have become rare in the present day as rush is not often obtainable. Instead of rush they now use sacking, pieces of tin they have picked up, etc. The building of four-cornered huts with one or even two rooms made of wood or corrugated sheet-iron is becoming more and more popular.

2. The furniture consists of the so-called "Katel," a wooden frame with a network of leather straps connecting the four sides, used as a bed. In olden times their bed was merely a slight excavation in the floor of the house, but the more comfortable bedsteads of the white man appealed to them. Tables and chairs are not unusually found in the Nama huts, but it very seldom happens that a woman is found sitting on a chair. It is the privilege of the men to make themselves comfortable on the low little wooden chairs with seats made of leather thongs. The visitor to a neighbour for a little chat often carries his chair with him or has it carried by one of the children.

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415 The earthen pots made of clay and burnt by the women,
177 which belonged to the furniture of a fully equipped house in earlier days, have long since given way to the metal pots of the trader. The paint-box, or rather "vanity bag," however, has been preserved. It consists of a small tortoise-shell of which the opening at the back as well as the two openings at the sides are closed with resin, so that a vessel with only one opening, namely that for the head, remains.
[302] In this receptacle they preserve the buchu-powder comprising a mixture of various powdered aromatic shrubs, with which they powder their bodies, in order to remove the smell of perspiration. Men very seldom indulge in the use of this powder. The "box" is suspended by a little leather strap from the framework of the hut—and this is where all their other trifles are kept—or it is worn round the necks of the women for decorative purposes. For conveying their drinking water they used ostrich egg shells in former days, which, however, have long since been replaced by tin cans, buckets and paraffin-tins. Up to the present day they still manufacture the wooden spoons used for dishing up food. For eating purposes, however, the tin spoon has been adopted. It not seldom happens that quite a number of people in want of sufficient spoons use one and the same in turn passing it from hand to hand.

415 The "fat-box" must also be mentioned. It was as long
302 as a man's finger and consisted of the central part of a clean horn, both ends of which had been cut off and then closed by means of pieces of ox-hide. In this box they had the reddish ointment which was applied to those parts of the face that got chapped during cold weather. The women and girls also applied this ointment to their faces on other occasions.

412 As recently as 50 years ago stone knives were still in use,
276 but have been displaced by bought knives. The old tobacco
411 pipe consisting of a hollow bone or artistically carved out of serpentine stone is becoming more and more rare. The club
177 is still being manufactured, and a short stick furnished with the tuft of a jackal's tail is still, as it used to be in by-gone days, the distinctive sign of a prominent man or youth, who wards off the flies and wipes off the sweat with it. Altogether the Nama are adepts at manufacturing a variety of useful utensils, but do not like the idea of having more furniture than is absolutely necessary.

463 3. As the principle of distribution of labour could scarcely be expected to obtain in this once nomadic tribe, everyone makes for himself what his household requires. They make
283 cunning cords from the fibres of different shrubs, which are used in making the matwork for their houses, and also thin
326 but strong strings which the hunters require for their snares.
177 The art of manufacturing bracelets and arrow-points from
000 copper and iron had been learnt from the Bergdama. Baske-

Baskets
are made from suitably flexible roots and twigs. To-day [285]
they still accomplish great feats in the preparation of skins of 281
animals for domestic purposes. Hides are dressed according to a method inherited from their ancestors, the pieces of skin being put together in dainty and many-coloured patterns, which are sewn together with sinews of the animals.

In this way some form of home-industry has been developed [439]
in many a family, and as these skins are bought by Europeans they contribute towards its maintenance.

From their early youth the daughters help their mothers 593
in domestic duties, and without any special training, adapt 868
themselves to all sorts of labour, implicit in the management of a Nama household.

4. The main task is to attend to the cattle farming. As 231
nomads in earlier times they lived chiefly on the milk and meat of their cattle and there were rich people among them too; for old documents tell of a certain cattle-owner who [556]
possessed as many as 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep. Even up to the present day each family tries to rear some goats, sheep and, if possible, some cows too. All do not succeed, of course, in becoming well-to-do, whereas others own large herds. The Nama is not so keen on rearing cattle as on rearing sheep and goats. There is a simple reason for this. 231
A Herero of the old type is satisfied with curds and whey and 262
only enjoys meat if he has had luck while hunting or when an animal belonging to his herd has met with an accident on the pastures; but the Nama is not so simple in his needs; he wants to eat meat. As in a hot country, like South West, meat putrefies very soon, it is more effective for a family to slaughter a sheep or a goat so as to provide just enough meat for a day's need. White settlers also keep a flock of goats in order to satisfy their daily desire for meat, for cattle are not only too valuable but yield too much meat at a time.

In spite of this they always had rather small herds of 231
cattle in earlier days, principally in order to have riding 492
oxen and pack-oxen, as without these a nomadic life would have been almost out of the question because not only the men but the women rode on oxen during their long migrations; besides the poles and matting for the construction of their huts as well as their furniture had to be conveyed by means of pack-oxen. The Nama also possessed horses and used them for riding purposes. Fairly early and in their old wars and pillaging expeditions horses played a great part. The dog, however useful as watching over the house and assistant in the hunt, is never cared for properly.

5. The Nama has always considered himself to be a master 461
and he has always deemed labour beneath his dignity. His 357
weak limbs and delicate physique disqualify him for hard work so that wherever possible they employ herdsmen and domestic servants, and Bushmen, Bergdama and even Herero

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461 captives were so employed in olden times. Although such
357 servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

262 It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

262 Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating
146 the old field-food "veldkos" altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never [465] sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

244 7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own
797 gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

224 8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this
411 they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk [824] sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are
262 privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama

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kitchen, and herein they are very different from the Bushmen and Bergdama; a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyæna, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing. 262

9. The Nama from the earliest times has appreciated honey-beer, which he knew how to brew from wild honey by a process of fermentation, and he indulged in smoking "dacha." This "dacha" is a kind of hemp, with a narcotic smoke, which puts the smoker in a state of dreamy insensibility after the first few draughts. 273 276

Recently they have taken to drinking instead of this honey-beer, a kind of sugar-beer brewed in great quantities from sugar, yeast, legumes and water. A Nama who drings his sugar-beer regularly becomes the most miserable and unemployable of individuals. 273

It is a great blessing for the tribe that the acquisition of strong and spirituous drinks is prohibited. The German Government had prohibited the sale of liquor to them and the Mandate Administration has maintained this prohibition. Even if brandy is prohibited, they still have tobacco, coffee and sugar at their disposal, and these three are so essential to the life of a Nama that it has been said exaggeratingly that the Nama having these three means of enjoyment, will be able to live on them without longing for anything else. 276 272 262

V. Religion and Religious Cults.

1. For more than 200 years the majority of Hottentots have more or less been under Christian influence and therefore it will be very difficult to give any reliable account of their real and traditional religion, as only inadequate reports about their religious ideas and customs of the time when they first came in contact with Europeans, are obtainable. The Dutch minister Valentyn, who stayed at the Cape for some time on his homeward journey from India, relates, in about the year 1705, that he heard of the Almighty being called by the name Khouron and that they called the Evil one Dango and Damoh. They also told him of a divine being Tiqua or Tuqua and besides they feared a ghost called Somsoma very much. But Peter Kolbe says in 1719 that it is undeniable that the Hottentots pray to a supreme being which they called Gounia Tiqua. In 1671 Dapper tells of the worship of Humma or Summa, and Missionary Schmidt, who was the first missionary to work among the Hottentots from 1735-1744, writes the name of the Supreme Being Tui-Lqua. According to Wuras the Koranna worshipped Cukoab as their heavenly God, whose name appears in seven different spellings in his small "Bible." It must be remembered that all these reports are from people who were not acquainted with the Hottentot language, and their attempts to reproduce the 797 776

797 strange clicks and other sounds were mostly by means of the
776 letters of the Latin alphabet without the aid of new signs. One who knows the Nama language is still able to find his way in spite of the fact that their way of writing now bears the character of the Dutch, then the French and again the German spelling.

797 2. Dango or Damoh is evidently an attempt to spell the
776 word //Gauab. //Gauab still represents an evil spirit
177 amongst the Nama to-day. This name is used for "devil"
171 in the Christian literature of the Nama. But it is not impossible that this name could have been the name of their God, as the Bergdama, who adopted the Hottentot language when they were their servants, still call the Supreme Being //Gamab, and the Bushmen of the Saan tribe who stand in close relation to the Hottentots, as far as physical structure and language are concerned, call God //Gaunab. It might be due to the influence of Christian ideas that the heathen god of the Hottentots was re-named "devil," which is quite in line with the missionary and generally Christian views of the time. But Khouron seems to be an attempt to write the Nama word !Khub in French spelling. This word means "Master" in its broadest sense, and it is still the common custom to call God by this name.

773 Tiqua, Tuqua, Tui-Lqua, Cukoab, etc., is nothing else but
776 Tsui-//Goab, which to-day is still much used and well-known in exclamations and oaths. This word must be translated by "wounded knee," and reminds us of an old tribal hero, known by many African tribes, who was wounded in his knee in a struggle against an enemy. Tuma evidently means the cloudless sky and Summa or Somsoma will then be the Shadow which they still fear to this day.

3. Out of this confusion of old reports the name Tsui-//Goab=wounded knee, needs special mentioning. Myth has made this tribal hero a god, probably attributing to him the qualities of //Gamab=the devil. He is ubiquitous and they take oaths by him, thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they are accustomed to use his name in the form of the exclamation "Tsui-//Goatse!". Amongst the Koranna the tradition still is that Tsui-//Goab has been a renowned chief of their tribe.

On certain occasions Tsui-//Goab is worshipped openly. The prayers to him point out plainly that he is regarded as the God of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

789 If the rain stayed away for a long time they tried to bring
782 it about magically by the following process. A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the

owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

My Tsui-//Goatse,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can find onions.

A long prayer which was said at similar occasions or was sung at their dances has been preserved by Th. Hahn and has the following wording more or less:—

Oh, Tsui-//Goab,
Thou, father of our fathers,
Thou, our father,
Let the clouds rain
That the herds may thrive,
That we may also thrive.
We have become so weak—
Weak from much of thirst,
Weak from much of hunger.
Let us roast field-food.
Thou are, aye, our father,
Our fathers' father;
Tsui-//Goab is they name.
That we may thank thee,
To thee our offers bring,
To thee, father of our fathers,
To thee, the most high,
To thee, oh Tsui-//Goab, thou.

It must be added that these same prayers, with almost the same wording without naming Tsui-//Goab are used by the Bergdama, when they pray to their father, as well as by the Bushmen of the Hei-//om tribe when approaching their god //Gauhab. This new hypothesis that Tsui-//Goab was originally not a divine being but has only become so later, the qualities of //Gauab having been attributed to him, who was afterwards regarded as the devil by them, seems to be noteworthy. It would, however, be very difficult to prove this as more than a mere probability.

4. Though the figure of Tsui-//Goab is endowed with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity in the consciousness of the Nama, the same cannot be said of another famous mythical being called Heiseb.

Heiseb is said to have been an exceedingly clever Nama in a prehistoric time, who did miraculous things. He could change himself into different forms and was able to go through mountains when pursued, etc. Above all, he died more than once and, according to Nama belief, was resurrected. Various

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773 778 graves of his are to be found in the Cape Colony as well as in Nama- and Hereroland. He who passes these graves, consisting of stones piled up along old native paths, must lay a stone, a twig or something to this description on the grave in salutation to him, lest he meet with an accident on his way. I was interested to know whether there were really human remains under these often stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stone, as Heiseb was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however, found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed empty. This curious incident instigated me to investigate this matter further as such heaps of stone, worshipped by all natives, are found in all parts of South West and what, is more, their worship was even known at the Cape according to old reports. My study of the Bushmen probably brought me on the right track and the customs of the Ovambo indicate similar phenomena. Up to this day the Ovambo pile up the hard fruit of a certain tree on the boundaries of the territory they lay claim to, to serve as beacons which are respected everywhere.

773 778 621 Among the Tjimba I found that they demark their pastures at certain points of the boundary with heaps of stones. Unless all the information is fallacious, the Bushmen, who were the only inhabitants of South West in olden times, also knew this custom. They erected stone beacons at those places where strangers used to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, *i.e.*, where there were old paths. The implication of this for the strange hunter and gleaner was that all their activities within these boundaries would be regarded as robbery. It is not improbable that both the Ovambo and the Tjimba of the Kaokoveld took over this way of demarking their tribal boundaries from the Bushmen.

Afterwards when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country for the new immigrants, the Hottentots, Bergdama, Herero, etc., these boundary-marks appeared to them as graves, which were revered as the graves of their own ancestors by piling stones on them.

The myth now included these imposing tokens of love and called them Heitsi-eibeb, *i.e.*, place, where Heiseb lingers.

773 821 5. The moon plays a very great rôle in the Nama mythology. It was she who brought death to humanity by means of a wrong message. Up to then humanity had been immortal, but her words: "As I die and live again—new moon and waxing moon—so will ye also die and live again," were conveyed in a contrary sense by the hare. They expect the same things from the moon that they obtain by entreating Tsui-782 //Goab. Prayers were also sent up to her at the occasions 535 of their moonlight dances. Similar dances of a religious 178 character were also organised in the beginning of Spring when the Pleiades appeared. Now-a-days the prayers have

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782
been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon- 535
light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up 178
here and there.

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstition.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama 771
religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged [754] in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances.

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than 775
their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of olden as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another.

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves con- 764
jointly, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place 776
and secured the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again.

Heiseb, who has already been mentioned, for this reason entreated his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying per- 763
son, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as precursors of death.

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one unmindfully, or 769
points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of 787
the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of 761
an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he

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769 has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of
787 circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these cere-
761 monies secretly, only after a year may he relate this dream, as
by then the time for its realisation will have expired, failing
[632] which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person
die within that year and be treated accordingly. When the
sheep get lost in the pastures, they know how to find them
by lighting a certain root at the gate of the kraal, the flames
showing the direction in which the sheep should be sought.
761 He, who heedlessly stands in the shade of a bush called "the
782 little heart-tree" is endangered by death until he has atoned
for his disrespectful behaviour by burying a piece of cloth
from his own dress, at the root of the tree.

791 4. It is clear that in these circumstances wizards and
sooth-sayers would enjoy great personal attention, find favour
and acquire riches especially in hard times; and up to the
present time all sorts of wizards, who pretend to be able to
ward off death and to cure animals by means of mysterious
remedies, are still active among the Nama; they very seldom
avail themselves of effective medicinal roots and shrubs for
they have a very scanty knowledge of the medicinal plants
of Namaland. The more mysterious is the hocus-pocus in
which he wraps his unintelligible doings, the greater the
wizard and the more firmly do they expect the wonderful
effects! There is a definite way of practising witchcraft to
reveal that which is still hidden in the dim future or is
wrapt in the veil of the past; but it seldom happens that one
comes on the track of old, original customs. What has been
heard or seen among the Bushmen, Ovambo and also among
the Malays and Mahomedans of the Cape Colony, is being
practised and has its believers.

751 The wearing of various kinds of talismans is by no means
uncommon, but one very seldom gets the impression that they
are in any way connected with ancient beliefs or superstitions.
Fangs, heads, pieces of scaly skin, roots, fruits, etc., are
regarded by them as serving to ward off diseases, to maintain
health or to deliver them from evil. As a rule these things
are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often
they are tied on painful parts of the body and are then simply
called "Medicine."

751 When circumstances demand it they prepare these amu-
439 lets themselves, but they have so little confidence in their
own art that they would rather purchase them from the
Ovambo, Herero, Bergdama and especially from the Bushmen.

VII. Manners and Customs.

584 1. A matrimonial engagement may take place in two ways.
The parents of the young man either look for a suitable girl,
get her parents' consent, have long and by no means enjoy-
able negotiations with relatives, decide upon the date for the

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marriage and what should be contributed to the reception: 584
or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying "yes" but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other.

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal "separation-period" sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the 585
house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents.

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity 585
the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian 178
customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies.

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no 562
means that of the devoted servant of the man. According 593
to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with [342
rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by 423]
the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent 586
or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are 602
among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such 595
a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions.

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the 843
husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves so much in the expectant mother that

843 they frequently massage her. During the last months before the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother. The older relatives of the mother function as midwives and are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however, 846 the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The 851 christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days 551 every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum- 843 stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the 642 Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and European names are very general lately. The midwife who assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced by half.

857 5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a 871 help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight many a fight with the parents, who do not realise that, in order to make progress, the child has to attend classes regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for it than that he should attend school. But a change has taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to understand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance to the child in later years.

841 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that [784] this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest she imperil the herd.

[754] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with [757] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.

593 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names. 576 The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by their names unless they prefer to call the little sucklings "Little Father" or "Little Mother." But children are not allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

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by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 593 576

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 [619]

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [177]

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [515]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "buchu" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day, and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [84] [843]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 535 [521]

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571 such occasions the men provide music by means of flutes made
535 of reeds and the women and girls perform old national dances, clapping their hands, singing, and stamping with their feet. Yet these nocturnal dances are not always harmless, for their feelings being aroused they lightly indulge in immoral excesses, and on the following morning squabbles of jealousy do not fail to arise.

147 12. The Nama does not enjoy robust health. The slender body, often weakened by dissoluteness and irregular food has no power of resistance. During the cold season they catch [64] severe colds, and consumption and venereal diseases demand many victims. They hardly know how to nurse themselves when ill and often resort to ridiculous measures. For this [145] reason they grow old very soon and at the age of fifty consider themselves senile. The nursing of people who are 758 dangerously ill leaves much to be desired and when they have lost hope of recovery they leave off indulging hopelessly in hopeless nursing. Burial in a squatting position with a skin 764 wrapped round the corpse, in a round grave 1½ metres deep, 177 in a lonely spot in the open fields is now only prevalent in far-off places, for the Christian way of burying has generally been adopted. They make a flat coffin of planks which they have picked up—or of cheap boxes—paint it black, enclose in it the corpse and sink the coffin into a grave in the graveyard for natives, which exists in all the larger towns. The grave is furnished with large rocks at its head and foot and is often neatly and tastefully covered with small stones. Well-to-do families erect on the grave a wooden cross with an epitaph; and cut stones with inscriptions on them are not uncommon; but they have not yet adopted the custom of looking after their graves. Before it became the custom to inter in coffins, a grave was dug with its deepest part resembling a coffin. Half-way it broadened out on both sides, on each of which a step was made. The corpse, wrapt in skins or blankets and laid flat on the ground, would then be covered with wooden poles on which the excavated earth was thrown, so as not to be in direct contact with the corpse. These three modes of burial are still all in vogue, reminding one of the old epoch, the transition period and the modern time with its interments conducted in the Christian and European way.

VIII. Language and Intellectual Life.

197 1. At the very first meeting of Europeans with the Hottentots of the Cape Colony the peculiarity of their language attracted attention and for a long time it was believed that it could not be learnt by adults. Dr. Ol. Dapper, whose book about South Africa was published in 1868, writes about it as follows:—

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"De taal der Hottentotten is voor de Europeanen verdrietig te horen, onmogelijk te leren, en aan de Hollanders tot verder voortzetting van den Handel en uitvinding der landen zeer hinderlijk: want zij klappen met ieder woord, dat zij spreken, even als wanneer men met de vingers een knipslag maakte, zodat haar mond als een klap of zweep gaat, omdat zij met die tong overluid slaan, en ieder woord bijna een slag is." 197

Holsteiner, in his book of travels, says:

"Uit hare taal kan men nauwelijks horen dat zij menschelijk is: zij is schier als het geraas van de Calicutsche hanen."

Merklin, in his book of travels, adds:

"Zij klokken met hunne taal bijna als de Indiaansche hoenders."

Peter Kolbe, whose book was published in 1719, took a great deal of trouble to arrive at the secret of the Hottentot language. He made a contract with a Hottentot, promising him in writing that he would give him ten rix-dollars if he taught him the language; but, after the first lesson, both master and pupil were quite tired out. In connection with this he wrote:

"Ook verdroot het mij, wegens mijne kromme tong, liet hom gaan, na dat ik zijne moeite betaalt hadde. Wat mij aangaat, ik ben 't enemal van die gedachten, ja daar waar selfs een halve eeu verlopen, eer men een gedruksblad daar van zag, wilde men ook alle zijne moeite en arbeid alleen daar aan te koste leggen. . . . Genoemen, dat een vreemdeling deze taal in eenige jaren kan lezen. . . zo ontmoet te eerste deze zwarigheid zich weder, dat hij se niet kan overzetten en vertalen. De oorzaak is, om dat zijn meester zelf met een kromme tong in die duitsche taal spreekt. Hij kan niet zeggen, dat hij op deze of gene wijze de tong moet dragen om deze of genen slag te doen. Indien hij hem zulks ook aanwijzt, zo heeft hij tog maar om zo te spreken, eene trap overwonnen, welke ten eersten weder van anderen gefolgt word, namelijk wanneer hij gade slaat, hoe dat hij alle slagen met die tong en met den mond, op 't nauwste bij zich zelven zal onderscheiden, om in 't vervolg bij aanroering der karakters of letters, die wederom een lange tijd, en een verder nadenken vereisschen, dezelve fijn onderscheiden, en aan den leergierigen aanwijzen zal. Die nu alle deze Zwarigheden nevens nog vele anderen, die onderweegs en midden in 't werk ontmoeten zullen, overkomt, en geen ander hulpmiddel heeft, gelijk en geen andere zijn, dan die hij van de Hottentotten hebben kan, die zal zeker niet meer zeggen, dat de taal van de Hottentotten licht is, maar hij zal zonder twijfel

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197 een bedroeft klaaglied zingen, en vele zullen over de al te grote zwarigheden zoodanig verschrikken, dat zij midden in 't werk zullen ophouden, en een ander ook overlaten zullen."

The description of all the authors of that time, who busied themselves with the problem of the Nama language tally with this one.

2. Since that time the Nama language has been specially investigated and written down by missionaries and the apparently insurmountable difficulties in learning the lan- [214] guage have been overcome. To-day there is a series of dictionaries and grammar books of the language and Hottentots who read possess a small literature. They even buy a monthly periodical. It was principally the Rhenish Mission which, through its untiring efforts, has achieved such excellent results, that it can be said that, of all the dialects of the different Hottentot tribes, the Nama tribe and language have been studied best.

194 The difficulties experienced when one begins to study the language are due to the fact that the language possesses four clicks which are produced by pressing and snapping the tongue. If the organs of speech of the learner cannot adapt themselves to the production of these clicks even the most talented linguist will fail to give the idiom its correct pronunciation. But in spite of a well-articulated production of the peculiar sounds of this language one meets another threatening difficulty as one goes along, namely, the peculiar 193 syntax of the language, which is utterly different from the rules of European languages, so that the rule followed generally with beginners of thinking in the mother-tongue and quickly translating the thought into the foreign language, cannot be adhered to in the case of the Nama language. If one cannot think in the Nama language, one will never be able to learn to speak it.

194 3. It is remarkable that the difficult clicks of the Nama can be produced with the same ease as any other sounds and that European children playing with Nama children often pick up the language more quickly than their mother-tongue. It is notable, too, that numerous Bantu tribes have taken over clicks into their Bantu language. This indeed happened (according to the recent researches of Prof. C. Meinhoff) by the adoption of a whole Nama word which then became Bantu in its pronunciation and spelling, the click remaining unchanged.

197 4. In connection with the dialects of the Hottentots of the Cape Colony some notes made in the earlier days are available. The library of Sir George Grey especially contains many valuable manuscripts. When one examines these old documents and compares them with Nama that is still spoken, one receives the impression that these dialects are so

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differentiated as really to be regarded as separate languages, 197
until after closer examination one discovers that these differences are due to the inexpert and various attempts at spelling the words. It must also be mentioned that the Nama language contains quite a number of words of Arabic origin, to which philology has not yet devoted enough attention.

5. If the mental disposition of the Nama can be judged 197
from the language and its grammatical construction as well 153
as the syntax, then the Nama language indicates a certain mental alertness and quickness of thought. This conclusion drawn from an examination of the language does not deceive us when we examine Nama thought and mental activity more closely. Mentally this tribe is decidedly the most active and most capable of development of all the tribes in South Africa.

Almost sixty years ago the investigator Bleek, assisted by 177
missionaries, compiled a volume of interesting animal fables 538
treating mostly of the jackal and showing his clever 153
superiority to the other animals of the fields in all possible situations. That these fables, evidently rooted in the European fable-cycle of Reynard, the Fox, have become so popular with the Nama and have inspired them to compose their own works of fiction, has certainly not been incorrectly interpreted as revealing a mental disposition in the Nama which is similar to the cunning of the jackal.

Prof. Dr. Schultze completed a compilation of their literary 538
products in his detailed work on " Namaland and Kalahari "; but the whole store of fables and stories has by no means been collected by these two. I myself have collected and possess about a hundred unpublished fables.

6. The Nama have also attempted to write poetry. The old prayers for rain which have already been cited indicate a disposition to poetic productions and there is hardly any domestic or wild animal which the Nama has not sung of. A Nama teacher surprised the Teachers' Conference of last [875]
year with a large collection of anthems he had composed, some of which are worth publishing. For this conference of teachers all of them had received agenda papers and the way in which most of them had approached the problems and publicly expressed their thoughts was surprising.

7. Musically the Nama has always been highly talented. 533
The possession of a musical instrument is appreciated more 517
than the possession of money. The women and girls have often got specially beautiful voices. Their community-song for four voices, with trumpet accompaniment, could compete very favourably with the music at European church festivals. I had a Nama boy in my training college who passionately devoted himself to playing the harmonium. Before then he had never had an opportunity of learning the harmonium. According to the rules of the house every pupil of the institution had to go to rest at 9 o'clock every night. The har-

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533 monium enthusiast, however, did not care for that and con-
517 tinued playing up to midnight. When this was prohibited as against the rules of the house, he answered that he did not know that they were not allowed to study after nine o'clock. One night after that he was found at the harmonium at two o'clock in the morning and excused himself by saying that the rules of the house, which he was willing to abide by, did not stipulate at what time of the morning a pupil could begin to study! In four months' time he had made so much progress in playing the harmonium that he accompanied the hymns in the community services.

532 8. Many of the young people also show aptitude in the art
517 of painting. A grandson of the notorious Hendrik Witbooi painted two ostriches with such a typically African background in coloured chalk on the board for his final examination after three years' preparation for the profession of teacher, that even the Government Inspector was amazed. Thus, the results of the mental development of the Nama, clearly perceptible to-day, show that the trouble and pains bestowed on them bear fruit; and nothing is more erroneous than to imagine the Hottentots are mentally one of the most primitive races. In the political economy of South-West Africa their weakly physique will play a very small part however; but for work which does not exact much bodily strength but requires intelligence the Nama will in the future be preferred to other natives.

IX. Usage and Laws.

642 The Chief with councillors and magistrate is the represen-
643 tative of the law. The last named is his right hand in all
645 public and legal matters. Under normal circumstances the son inherits the chieftainship from his father. In times of peace the powers of the Chief are very limited. Without having consulted a mass meeting and without the decision of the councillors the instructions of a chief are of very little consequence. The form of government of a chieftainship is altogether democratic. Within this democratic frame, however, the Chief rules like a patriarch. This state of affairs is radically changed during war. If a war breaks out the Chief becomes dictator.

645 The councillors are elected at a mass meeting, and at the
693 same time function as judges. Decisions by them are regarded as laws by the tribe and their sentences, passed under the presidency of the eldest among them, are executed. There is no appeal to a higher court. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion among the judges with regard to the
[643] passing of a sentence is the matter referred to the Chief whose casting vote then settles the question finally.

[691] 2. As the Nama possess a very fine sense of justice and
692 injustice, legal disputes are not at all uncommon. But since

South West has become a colony and a mandated territory, confidence in their own jurisdiction has decreased even where it has been left in their hands. They do not regard their own judges as impartial enough to administer justice to the complainant or accused. This is no wonder! As a result of their close cohabitation it is very difficult for a judge to administer justice quite regardless of the person and his property. 692

3. In earlier days and in some tribal unions still to-day the procedure in a law-suit is as follows: The complainant lodges his complaint with the magistrate who at the same time exercises the powers of a policeman. The magistrate then summons the judges; and the complainant and accused are summoned by messengers. The sitting takes place in the open as a rule. The complainant has to provide sufficient food for the judges as long as they sit. Generally he delivers some goats in advance in payment of the legal expenses. If the accused is unwilling to appear he is brought by force by strong men duly authorised in such circumstances. The complainant as well as the accused stand at a distance from the place where the court is held or squat down on the ground till they are called. The summoned witnesses also remain within a reasonable distance. The magistrate then lays the case before them. The eldest person amongst the judges, who is chairman, then gives the complainant the word. Thereupon the accused is heard. Care is taken that only one person speaks at a time; for the rest absolute freedom prevails. If the case has been sufficiently investigated the complainant and the accused together with the witnesses have to withdraw. The judgment is passed unanimously when possible and pronounced by the chairman. If punishment is to be inflicted it is executed at once and the accused has to replace the goats paid for expenses by the complainant. 695

4. The methods of punishment in olden days were: Death, executed in many ways according to the nature of crime. He, who had slain someone, was beaten to death with clubs and sticks. When one had shot another, he also was shot. Other sentences were: Fines, payable in goats; corporal punishment in the form of flogging or branding and, lastly, confiscation of property or the declaration of such people, who have been found to be a danger to the public, as of unsound mind. These were then outlawed and could be done away with, without being punished. To-day a sentence of death can only be passed by the Government and duly constituted law-courts. Punishment among the Nama to-day is confined to flogging, fines and fees payable in goats. 681

5. Rules for the degrees of punishment were never, and have not yet been, definitely fixed. Nevertheless no rule was allowed to be broken within certain boundaries. The confirmed cattle-thief had to expect harder punishment at each conviction and these were usually meted out in the form of 681 685

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681 cuts with a stick until ultimately, in the olden days, the death
[685] sentence was decided upon. At the present time, the matter is then referred to the law-courts. In the case of corporal punishment the sentence was usually based on the principle of: Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth—unless the parties
[682 agreed upon another form of indemnity. Murder, high
687 treason, attempted murder of the chief and incest were always
684 punished with death according to the deposition of the old people. For the execution of corporal punishment a bailiff was appointed and fines were collected by the magistrate.

673 6. Generally they regard disrespectful behaviour towards the old, murder, homicide, bodily injury, theft, illegitimate impregnation and treason as punishable offences.

Lies and perjury are also deemed improper, but are not
[835] subject to legal punishment. In the same way adultery is not punishable. Incest becomes a case for the law only when the father refuses to be responsible for the sustenance of the child during its first years, namely, the time when it needs
[388] the nursing of the mother. As soon as the child is five years of age, the father takes it and the payments, which as a rule were in cattle and to-day are in money, cease.

It cannot, however, be said that these forms are valid everywhere where there are still unbroken Nama tribes ruled by a chief; and although they still know their old laws, they do not avail themselves of them in every case.

421 7. The proprietary rights of the old Nama were not extensive, and those of the present generation are still more limited as a result of the fact that they hardly possess any lands. Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use.

422 Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possess a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases, the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not.

423 The land or their tribal territory can under no circumstances become the property of an individual, neither is it the property of the chief. He has not got the right to dispose of or to give away anything of the territory which, in all respects, is regarded as common tribal property, unless the money received be divided amongst the families of the tribe, after they have consented to such a sale. The boundaries of a tribal territory, however, are not fixed. All lands and grounds where members of a tribe have previously grazed

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their herds or lived, are regarded as territory of the tribe. 423
At present these disputes do not occur any more since tribal possession of land has ceased to exist and reserves have been granted to individual tribes as usufruct and not as property. Consequently it is of no further interest to consider these old rights. They had rights of pasturage, honey, hunting, springs and water, etc., but these have ceased to exist. The Administration fixes legal boundaries for their reserves.

8. The facts with reference to hereditary rights are, how- 428
ever, quite different, for up to now the legislation of the Administration has not tampered with the rights of inheritance among the Nama—a fact which is very pleasing. As has been said, the chieftainship is inherited from the father [643]
by the eldest son. In case the chief has no sons, the sons of the eldest brother of the chief are the nearest relations entitled to the inheritance. The children inherit everything from their parents, the heritage being divided equally amongst the sons and daughters and the eldest son is regarded as the administrator of the estate under the supervision of the eldest living brother of the father.

If the children are still under age and the grandparents 429
are still alive, then they act on behalf of the guardian and take the orphans and their heritage to themselves. When childless parents die, their parents take possession of their 428
estate. When they also are dead, the chief divides the estate among the relatives, the following order being observed: the eldest sister of the husband, the brothers of the father of the late man, the sisters of the father, the sisters of the mother, the children of the brothers of the deceased, the children of the remaining sisters of the deceased, the children of his mother's sisters.

Illegitimate children of the man are entitled to an inheri- 428
tance just as the other children. Illegitimate children of the 848
mother have no claim to the inheritance as they belong to their father's family, who was obliged to support them in their first years and had taken care of them after that.

They could only depart from this law of inheritance on the oral testimony of the testator arranging it. They usually abided conscientiously by such stipulations in reverence for the deceased; and fear that the deceased might take revenge for their not complying with the stipulations of his will played no part in it.

X. Civilisation and Modern Times.

The nomadic Nama tribes had already been affected by 177
European civilisation from three different sides a hundred years ago. There were the Orlam tribes who immigrated gradually towards the beginning of last century, then the hunters and traders who travelled through the country and lastly the missionaries. It might seem strange that the

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177 immigration of the Orlam tribes is also cited as a civilising factor, but it must be remembered that many of the Orlam had already been in close contact with Europeans in the Cape Colony; that some of them could read and write; that many of them had been under the influence of missionaries; that they were already used to European clothing, and above all knew how to use firearms, which gave them a considerable predominance over the old resident tribes.

The first conflict had to take place with the Orlam and terminated in the Orlam tribe of the Afrikaner (who had been called to their help by the chief of the old tribes of the country) gaining the supreme rule and exercising a profound influence which, however, was not always beneficial.

2. The old hunters, representatives of civilised nations, did not indulge in civilising work! By them the rich game supplies were reduced to such an extent that elephants, giraffes, rhinoceroses, etc., are now looked for in vain in Namaland. In spite of this they did not have to cope with many difficulties among the Nama tribes. On the whole the Nama regarded them as friends. What is more, it was to their temporary advantage to be able to fill their pots without any effort when big game was shot. Then they—children of the moment—never thought of the coming devastation of their hunting areas. For all that it can still be said that the representative of a higher civilisation, no matter how he acts among uncivilised tribes, must be estimated as a civilising factor, even though it be only by virtue of his appearance. He rouses impulses and stimulates the will to strive after a higher civilisation.

The traders of those times often complained of the unfriendly attitude which they experienced on their commercial travels. They brought clothing materials and clothes into the country, the old skin clothes disappeared gradually and the Nama who respected himself went about in European clothes.

Unfortunately they also brought alcohol into the country and supplied the robber-tribes with rifles, lead and gunpowder. As they gave credit to their purchasers the collecting of the heavy debts caused many difficulties and the advice of some unprincipled tradesmen to pay them with cattle robbed from the Herero did not promote peaceful terms with their northern neighbours. In spite of this these commercial travellers should not be forgotten when the civilising influences which have affected the Nama are named.

177 797 3. All praise is due to the Mission for rendering the greatest services to the Nama both as mediator and bearer of civilisation. As early as 1805 the Evangelic Mission started its work at Warmbad among the Bondelzwarts who had up to then led a nomadic life, crossing then to the one and then to the other side of the Orange River. In judging the

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civilising work of the mission it must be borne in mind that it had to deal with a nomadic tribe, and to make such a tribe amenable to civilisation, means solving the gigantic problem of getting a nomadic tribe to settle down permanently. 177 797

To do so J. H. Schmelen crossed the Orange River in 1815 with his people to settle at the spring in Bethanie; but his first attempt to keep them here did not succeed. To-day, however, Bethanie has its own population and is still a mission station. In 1850 the missionary Knudsen attempted to settle another tribe at Guldbrandsdalen after a good rainy year, but his attempt failed too. But round the spring at Broekkaross the station Berseba was successfully founded where those same people gathered and where their progeny still stays to-day. It was the mission that kept this tribe in Gibeon where it still is to-day.

So, gradually, missionary stations arose all over Namaland. In 1866 Keetmanshoop got a missionary. In 1856 Gobabis was founded. In 1853 the first missionary settled among the Red Nation at Hoachanas. Attempts were also made to bring about a moral way of living among the Afrikaners at Windhoek; but the attempt failed and the tribe was ruined.

The missionary station with its church and school in course of time became the centre of the individual tribes. Times of progress were followed by times of degradation. The nomadic tendency often manifested itself and often the missionary saw his community disappearing in all directions especially in dry years. But they gathered round him again and so his community remained intact. The mission has been reproached because it did not educate the Nama to work, etc.; but people seem to forget that if they are to be educated to work in a European sense, there must be a working potentiality, and these potentialities failed everywhere. Where there were arable ground and water they introduced gardening, but everyone knows how many difficulties gardening involves in South West, especially in dry Namaland.

4. At the right time, just when the tribes had been domiciled to a certain extent by the mission, the occupation of the country by the German Empire set in, and colonisation of the country by white farmers began. The travelling traders became less and less and stores began to be opened in the townships and transport-drivers conveyed goods to far-off places. The Nama had opportunities to work now, but unfortunately had no willingness to work. For the recently settled Nama never had had to work in the European sense and consequently were not accustomed to continual exertion and were averse from it. Nevertheless many of the Nama became expert drivers, achieving surprising things with their 6 metres-long ox-whip; others became herdsmen and others domestic servants of the whites. The breaking out of the 177

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177 Nama war afterwards, which caused such heavy losses on both fighting sides cannot be regarded as a revolt against civilisation. The chiefs had sold extensive portions of their pastures; farmers had settled at the best waters; the hunting areas were ruined; the common man felt himself specially restricted and the chiefs and councillors felt that the scope of their powers was narrowed. The policy of the Government representatives to treat the chiefs with marked distinction whenever opportunity offered did not alter things at all. Seeds of discontent gathered and, when a spark fell, the fire of war blazed up.

178 5. These times belong to the past. More than the Herero, has the Nama perceived that the Wheel of Fate does not allow itself to be turned back by force. Great reserves have been allotted to loyal tribes, the old and those unable to work, by the German and Mandated Governments, and these territories are inalienable. The strong and healthy have good opportunities for work and for earning their bread all over Namaland. As formerly the mission still sees to the maintenance of the community life and the cultivation and development of their inner life. What a community in Namaland implies is only known to him who has studied the old history of that tribe without community life.

178 871 More than 12,000 members of the Nama tribe have already become members of the Christian communities. The youth are educated in numerous schools, and although they have no compulsory education, yet they have made notable progress. The Government supports these missionary schools in such a way as was impossible for the Missionary Associations. The Government further has these Nama schools inspected by its inspectors and supports the work of training and developing the native teaching staff.

000 6. Only we must not expect too much. A nomadic tribe cannot be changed to a civilised nation within the short period of one century full of wars and cries of war. Yet the Nama is proof of the fact that loyal and uninterrupted work in this direction is not futile!

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